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In Vergil's Paradise or Elysian Fields we find, of course,

(1) the alleged founders of the Roman State and Nation (648 ff.). What American would believe that Washington, Adams, Hancock, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, and our other fathers, are now in torment?

(2) Those who died in defence of an attacked or wronged fatherland (660).

(3) Priests and ministers of the Roman theology who led unspotted lives, including the pious seers gifted by Apollo with foresight (661).

We are not surprised at these three groups, but what does arouse our surprise and admiration is to discover (663-664) two more classes:

(4) Those who by discoveries, inventions, and achievements in the artistic and scientific fields have contributed to the progress of the world or have made life more worth living.

(5) Lastly, we understand Vergil to refer to all men who follow any useful trade, occupation, or profession with honesty and with the intention of rendering to humanity whatever service, be it ever so little, it lies in their power to render. We fancy that, if the readers of this article were empowered to sit in judgment on the lives of all men, they would reward and punish practically in accord with Vergil's ideas.

But Vergil also believed in a millenium, not one ushered in suddenly, as at the blast of a trumpet, but one that would result by the gradual elimination of the wicked and the undesirable. It was to be attained in the following way. There was a region in Paradise set apart for a particular purpose, and which, for lack of a better name, I call Purgatory. Of the souls of the righteous who reached Paradise a certain number, selected by lot, were conveyed to this region, where they drank of the water of the river Lethe and had purged from them all trace of contact with the world. These souls then were sent back to occupy the bodies of newly-born babes. Vergil apparently appreciated the doctrine of heredity and had a lively expectation that a soul which once had merited Paradise would in a second existence on earth at least duplicate its former record. If it did not, then it went to Tartarus and had no more chances of living again on earth. By the gradual gathering of the wicked into Tartarus, and the repeopleing of the earth with the good, the millenium was to be attained.

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### REVIEW

An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic. By Tenney Frank. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1920). Pp. ix + 310. \$2.50.

There has long been need of a comprehensive survey of the economic history of Rome, and it is extremely fortunate that such a work should have been written

by one so thoroughly acquainted with classical literature, Roman political history, and Roman archaeology as Professor Tenney Frank. His view of the economic development of Rome to the end of the Republic is, in outline, as follows. The surface of the Latin plain is of comparatively recent date, having been formed by deposits of volcanic ash from the Alban volcanoes which continued active into the third millenium B. C. The growth of forests upon these deposits had produced an extremely rich, although shallow, surface soil by the time that the Latin settlement occurred, about the opening of the first millenium. The richness of the crops led to the growth of a dense agricultural population, which, in turn, caused intensive cultivation and the attempt to prevent the erosion of the soil on the hillsides and along the banks of streams. This was done by constructing dams along the watercourses and by digging underground tunnels in the tufa of the hillsides. Professor Frank's interpretation of the purpose of these *cuniculi* was brought to the notice of readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13. 113-115, in a summary, by Professor Knapp, of his views on Agriculture in Early Latium. For the accuracy of this suggestion, advanced by De La Blanchère, in *Mélange d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* (1882), and repeated in Darenberg et Saglio, in the article *cuniculus*, the author relies upon his personal examination of the tunnels, as well as on the absence of any other satisfactory explanation of their use. It may be added that the view of De La Blanchère is adopted by H. Stuart Jones in his *Companion to Roman History*, 153, and G. Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*, 1.68 ff. These engineering works are probably to be attributed to a wealthy aristocracy of landholders, whose serf tenants were the forerunners of the clients of historic times.

Throughout the eighth and the seventh centuries Latium did not come into contact with the Phoenician and the Greek traders who frequented the shores of Etruria. Its dense population successfully withstood the Etruscans until the close of the seventh century, long after they had established themselves in Campania to the South. With the Etruscan conquest Latium was brought into contact with Mediterranean commerce. A harbor was constructed at the mouth of the Tiber, for, owing to the river current and the lack of a landing beach, Rome itself was not well situated for maritime traffic. At this period it is probable that Latium exported wool, hides, and copper, which she secured from her inland neighbors in exchange for grain. Under Etruscan stimulus also a limited industrial development occurred, evidenced by the jewelry and the bronze work of Praeneste. However, the commercial treaty with Carthage, concluded after the expulsion of the Etruscans from Rome at the close of the sixth century, shows little interest on the part of the new Republic in foreign trade and points to the decline of commerce in the following century.

Although there is no trace of serfdom existing under the early Republic, the peasants were miserably poor,

a condition which was accentuated by the progressive exhaustion of the soil, and by the introduction of currency with the establishment of the mint in the fourth century. Their struggle for political power, therefore, is partly due to economic causes. In this they were aided by the craftsmen and the laborers of the city who suffered from the decline of trade. The deforestation of the Campagna and the bordering hills resulted in the disappearance of the fertile surface loam, which was washed down into the plains, where it choked the water courses and produced malarial marshes. Latium thus became the semiarid plain that it is to-day. Consequently there was a gradual abandonment of farming in the fourth and the third centuries, and the ploughed fields gave way to pastures. The conquest of the Volscian and the Sabine hills, which afforded good summer pasturage, facilitated the change. Since capital and slaves were needed for successful ranching, the small farmer was displaced by the large landholder, and the population of Latium began to decline. Thus the cultivation of grain was on the wane in Latium long before the importation of Sicilian grain commenced. However, the exhaustion or disappearance of the surface soil did not hinder the development of vineyards and olive orchards, which, like ranching, required the investment of considerable capital. The territorial expansion of Rome in Italy during the fourth and the third centuries provided new lands for the surplus agricultural population of Latium, and obviated the necessity of the development of commerce and industry. Following the Punic wars of the third century came this development of the plantation system, owing to the devastation of Italy, the decimation of the agricultural population, and the abundant and continual supply of slaves.

There are no evidences of a large industrial class or great industrial activity in Rome from the fifth to the third century. In the latter century slaves gradually took the place of what free labor there was. During the same period there is likewise little evidence of important commercial relations. As a consequence, the business man lacked social prestige even in Cicero's day. The policy of the State was directed by an agricultural nobility, whose interests were not so much economic as political and diplomatic; in the absence of a highly developed commerce and industry economic problems were not very pressing; hence the neglect of industrial and commercial needs, a crude financial policy, and a backward revenue system. The Gracchan revolution, growing out of an attempt to counteract the decline of the peasantry caused by the spread of the *latifundia*, brought the "capitalist-mercantile" class to a position of power in the State, closed Italian lands to colonization, and began the policy of State charity for the urban proletariat to the permanent discouragement of industry in the city.

The preceding sketch of the economic history of Rome to the first century B. C. occupies Chapters I-IV, and VI-VIII. Chapter V is a valuable survey of

the Roman coinage system under the Republic. The rest of the book (Chapters IX-XVI) contains an analysis of social and economic conditions at the end of the Republic, under the captions, Public Finances, The *Plebs Urbana*, Industry at the End of the Republic, Capital, Commerce, The Laborer, and The Exhaustion of the Soil. The military and agrarian policy of Rome led, Professor Frank believes, to the disappearance of the old Italian race in the peninsula. Both in Rome and in the rural towns of Italy it was supplanted by freedmen and their descendants, largely of Oriental origin. In discussing the industrial situation the author examines (166) several typical industries that have provided some record of themselves in the form of trademarks and makers' signatures, in order to procure definite data regarding the scale of production, the degree of centralization, the extent of the market, and the class of people involved in the production of them.

This examination is supplemented by an illuminating economic survey of the town of Pompeii. Some of the conclusions reached are deserving of special emphasis. By the time of Cicero the primitive household economy had practically disappeared in Italy, and, whenever a "self-sufficient" rural estate is found, this is due "to an elaborate capitalistic economy in which the fastidious landlord could afford to satisfy his every whim". The industrial system is aptly compared with that of early nineteenth century New England, where the needs of each inland town were largely met by the products of native workmen. Although "a genuine factory system" was not fully developed, still (216)

division of labor and the employment of some labor-saving machinery and technical processes were present in the production of silver and bronzeware, pottery, glassware, furniture, bricks and some table delicacies; while in most of these instances there is evident a capitalistic production having a world wide trade in view.

But there were serious obstacles to the establishment of monopolies and the further extension of the factory system. Transportation was slow and costly; above all there was cheap slave labor, which enabled capricious householders to have everything possible produced in their own houses and in accordance with their personal tastes. This very cheapness of labor discouraged the invention of labor-saving devices which might have led to industrial concentration. Furthermore, the general scorn of industry among the aristocracy diverted the capital and the intelligence of the abler Romans into other channels. The author finds a suggestive parallel between the vicissitudes of Italian and English agriculture. Under pasturage the temporarily exhausted soil of Italy had recovered sufficiently to render farming profitable once more in the last century of the Republic, especially since the fertility of the Sicilian grain fields was declining under the strain of an unvarying wheat crop. However, the renewed competition of foreign grain due to the conquest of Egypt and the opening of the grain fields of Africa brought about a second decline

of agriculture in Italy, especially since it had not the stiumulus of a protective tariff. Due attention is given to the recrudescence of free agricultural labor in the time of Caesar, and the suggestion is made that the decline of fertility of the soil in Africa and Italy brought on the development of the later 'colonate' in these districts.

In conclusion, one cannot refrain from calling attention to the careful use of evidence, and the avoidance of dogmatism and of unwarranted hypotheses which so pleasantly characterize the work. The brief compass of the book has precluded the introduction into the text of much of the detailed evidence upon which its conclusions rest, but it is well documented, and, although there is no bibliography, the footnotes show the author's familiarity with the modern literature pertinent to his subject.

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#### Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

##### IV

- American Historical Review—April, Ancient History [notes on publications in the field of classical history. See the number for July, also].—July, The Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, C. H. Haskins; S. Gsell, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord: Tome IV, La Civilization Carthaginoise (F. F. Abbott).
- American Journal of Theology—Jan., The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution, D. McFayden; Wearing the Hat, A. T. Olmstead [with comments on ancient history, mostly Jewish].
- American Magazine of Art—May, (Gisela M. A. Richter, Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style).
- American Oxonian—April, The Greek Question, F. J. Wylie.
- Athenaeum—March 26, Palladas, R. A. Furness [poetical translations of Pal. Anth. 10.28; 9.489]; (Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets).—April 2, An Ancient Ballet-Master, J. T. Sheppard = (G. Vurtheim, Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie).—April 9, Martial and Rome, J. T. Sheppard = (W. C. A. Ker, Epigrams of Martial. Loeb Library).—April 16, Medea [an account of a performance of Murray's translation of the Medea, given in London].—April 23, New Studies in Virgil, V. R. = (J. Sargeant, The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil; Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets).—May 14, (E. A. Sydenham, The Coinage of Nero).—May 14, (Pearl C. Wilson, Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy).—May 21, Carthage = (S. Gsell, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord).—May 28, (B. O. Foster, Livy, Vol. I. Loeb Library; C. F. Walters et R. S. Conway, Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita. Tomus II, Libri VI–X. Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).—June 4, N. Bentwich, Hellenism; G. N. Bannerjee, Hellenism in Ancient India (E. M. F.); (W. W. Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations).—June 11, B. P. Grenfell, The Present Position of Papyrology [note on a lecture by Professor Grenfell].—June 18, Sophocles as a Will-O'-the Wisp, J. T. Sheppard = (R. J. Walker, The Ichneutae of Sophocles, with Notes and a Translation); Royal Numismatic Society [note on a paper by E. A. Sydenham on the bronze coinage of Nero, the objects of which were to show that Nero's bronze coins were struck at two mints, Rome and Lugdunum, to consider the relation of the latter to the metropolitan mint, and to tabulate the coins which may be assigned to each mint].—June 25, Flosculi Graeci Vitam et Mores Antiquitatis Redolentes Quos ex Optimis Auctoribus Decerpit A. B. Poynton (F. L. L.).—July 2, From the Agamemnon. The Murder Impending, L. Ellis [a poem]; G. Norwood, Greek Tragedy (J. T. Sheppard).—July 23, Prometheus and Utopia, Sc.-J. = (E. G. Harman, The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus and The Birds of Aristophanes).—Aug. 20, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XIV (B.).—Sept. 3, The Technique of Sophocles, G. Murray = (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Translated and Explained by J. T. Sheppard).—Sept. 10, E. Diehl, Supplementum Lyricum (J. L. L.).—Sept. 17, A Roman Farrago, J. T. Sheppard = (J. P. Postgate, Phaedri Fabulae Aescopicae; G. C. Fiske, Lucilius and Horace; F. Ramorino, Le Satire di A. Persio Flacco).
- Biblical Review—April, In the Era of Diocletian, E. G. Sihler.—Oct., The Emperor Julian and His Religion, E. G. Sihler.
- Bookman—June, The Latin Tongue, J. J. Daly [a poem].—July, Mr. Prosser upon Aristotle, Mary E. Roberts [a humorous application of the famous definition of tragedy].
- Burlington Magazine—May 15, Archaic Fictile Statues from Veii, E. D. Van Buren [illustrated].—June 15, The Acquisitions of the Louvre during the War, P. Jamot.
- Catholic Quarterly Review (American)—April, Hellenism and the Jews, J. Simon; St. Paul and Hellenism, R. G. Bandas.
- Deutsche Rundschau—July, Th. Birt, Spättrömische Charakterbilder (Marie von Bunsen); J. Geffcken, Griechische Menschen (Marie von Bunsen).
- Fortnightly Review—Sept., Unfamiliar Heroines of Euripides, W. L. Courtney.
- Freeman—April 21, Horace and the "Drys", Michael Monahan.—Sept. 29, In the Classical Cemetery. An Ancient Pussyfoot, A. Harvey [burlesque comment on the meaning and on the current interpretation of Euripides's Bacchae].
- Geographical Journal (London)—June, Antiquities on the Desert Coast between Egypt and Palestine.
- Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana—75.1, A. Meneghetti, La Latinità di Venanzio Fortunato (A. Sepulcri).—75.2–3, H. Süßmilch, Die Lateinische Vagantenpoesie des 12 u. 13 Jahrhunderts als Kulturerscheinung (V. Crescini); A. Sainati, La Lirica Latina del Rinascimento (Pl. Carli).
- Harvard Theological Review—July, J. H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. II, Part I (H. J. Cadbury).
- Hibbert Journal—July, A. Loisy, Les Mystères Païens et le Mystère Chrétien (B. W. Bacon).
- Historische Zeitschrift—3.25.3, L. M. Hartmann, Weltgeschichte (E. Hohl). See, also, under Notizen und Nachrichten, the sub-title Alte Geschichte in 3.25.1–3 and 3.26.1–3 [miscellaneous notes on publications in the classical field].—3.26.2, U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Platon (E. Schwartz); Dr. Schulte-Vaerling, Die Friedenspolitik des Perikles (M. Gelzer); C. M. Kaufmann, Handbuch der Altchristlichen Epigraphik (R. Herzog).
- History (English)—July, (M. R. James, The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts).